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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the occupational prestige of United States female labor force participants who were born in Cuba or Mexico, and who were at least 25 years old at the time of their immigration between 1945 and 1970. The age limitation, combined with schooling, provides a proxy for social class and for complete socialization into the home culture. Data are drawn from a 1/100 1970 Public Use Sample, corrected for allocation. The dependent variable is "NORC," or Hodge-Siegel-Rossi prestige scores, for 1970 Census occupational codes. Independent variables include age, U.S. experience, residence in the South, vocational training, weeks worked, completed schooling, and high school/college completion. Predicted prestige scores, controlled for social class, narrow the prestige score gap between Cuban and Mexican women, but increase the gap between immigrant men and women. The data suggest that the social mobility process for female immigrants may differ from that for males, partly because cultural barriers to "pink collar" jobs of nominally higher status restrict women's mobility. (Author/GC)

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The Occupational Prestige of Women Immigrants:
A Comparison of Cubans and Mexicans

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Prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting, Population Association of
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ABSTRACT

THE OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF WOMEN IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARISON OF CUBANS AND MEXICANS

This paper analyzes the occupational prestige of U.S. female labor force participants born in Cuba or Mexico who were at least 25 years of age at the time of their immigration between 1945 and 1970. The age limitation, combined with schooling, provides a proxy for social class and for complete socialization into the home culture. The data are from a 1/100 1970 Public Use Sample, corrected for allocation. The dependent variable is NORC prestige scores; independent variables are age, U.S. experience, South residence, vocational training, weeks worked, completed schooling, and high school/college completion. Predicted prestige scores, controlled for social class, narrow the prestige score gap between Cuban and Mexican women, but increase the gap between immigrant men and women. The data suggest that the social mobility process for female immigrants may differ from that for males, partly because cultural barriers to "pink collar" jobs of nominally higher status restrict women's mobility.

THE OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF WOMEN IMMIGRANTS:
A COMPARISON OF CUBANS AND MEXICANS

Until 1930, immigration to the United States was disproportionately male, with sex ratios occasionally ranging as high as 260 (U.S. Census, 1975).

Although legislative changes since then have produced an immigrant stream with a nearly balanced sex ratio (Easterlin, 1980), most current research continues to focus only on male immigrants (Chiswick, 1977a, 1977b; Martin et al., 1980; and Portes, 1982). This paper analyzes the occupational prestige of female immigrants born in Cuba or Mexico who immigrated between 1945 and 1970. For a variety of reasons, including the short distances involved, the more liberal entry requirements once in force for the Western hemisphere, and the Cuban refugee influx, this immigrant stream has always included large numbers of women. Thus its analysis may be helpful in understanding the assimilation of women immigrants from other countries, even those whose entry may be facilitated by different legislation (e.g., family reunification provisions). Pending legislation that would favor immigrants from contiguous nations increases the timeliness of this topic (U.S. Congress, 1983).

This study is limited to women born in Mexico or Cuba who were at least 25 at the time of immigration and who were in the labor force in 1970. Because of the structure of higher education in Latin America, and because schooling is usually completed by the age of 25, the age limitation provides a proxy for social class and for complete socialization into the home country's culture. Thus, these women are "ideal-type" immigrants, completely reared in one culture before entering a different culture. The sample selection limits the generalizability of the findings; on the other hand, this sample consists of immigrant women for whom the obstacles to acculturation were potentially greatest. The dependent variable, occupational prestige, is salient both in the study of immigrants and in the study of working women. Although prestige scales have

been shown to be internationally reproducible (Treiman, 1977) prestige, unlike money, is a "circulating medium" only within cultures (Parsons, 1970). Language barriers, licensing requirements, and the lack of U.S. experience make occupational prestige difficult to "transfer" to a new culture. Immigration typically involves at least some initial downward mobility, and most immigrants find jobs that are less desirable in their new country's perceived hierarchy. But how immigrant women fare, especially in relation to immigrant men, is not understood.

Occupational prestige is of particular interest in the study of women because of the repeated finding that majority white women's occupational prestige scores are equal to or even greater than those of males (for example, see Treiman and Terrell, 1975; U.S. Civil Rights Commission; 1978). This is explained by the nominally higher prestige of the "pink-collar" jobs, including nursing, teaching, and clerical work. These jobs, however, tend to be closed to immigrant women for the reasons already mentioned. To demonstrate the impact of these barriers, a comparison sample of male immigrants is incorporated into the study.

DATA

The data are drawn from the individual records in the 1/100 Public Use Sample of the 1970 U.S. Census of Population (5% questionnaire). Any records with allocated nationality were deleted. All cases included in this analysis were women or men born in Cuba or Mexico, who were at least 25 years of age at the time of immigration, and who were at work in the reference week.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is occupational prestige, for which we used the so-called NORC or Hodge-Siegel-Rossi prestige scores for 1970 Census occupational codes (NORC, 1978). These scores range from 9 (bootblack) to 82 (physicians). Although NORC prestige scores have been used in the research literature (Stolzenberg, 1975), most recent work on Hispanics' occupational attainment has used socioeconomic status scores, either those derived from census SES scores (Jaffe et al., 1980) or the Duncan SEI (Featherman and Hauser, 1978).¹

Status and prestige scales are highly correlated (Treiman, 1977: 210). As explained above, however, there is an important conceptual reason in studying immigration to separate prestige from income and education. There is a particular reason to do so in studying Mexican and Cuban immigrants. Socioeconomic scales tend to rank farmwork lower than prestige scales do. For example, the Duncan SEI gives farmers and farm managers a score of 14, compared to 41 for NORC prestige scores. Similarly, farm laborers receive a score of 9 on the SEI compared with 19 on NORC prestige scores (Featherman, Jones, and Hauser, 1975). Although Mexicans are not as concentrated in farmwork as stereotypes may suggest, approximately 10% of Mexican-origin males and 4% of Mexican-origin females are still in farm occupations, roughly twice the proportion of the labor force as a whole (Jaffe et al., 1980: 166, 171). If Mexican immigrants are also overrepresented in farm occupations, the use of the socioeconomic status scores would tend to "stack the deck" against the Mexican immigrants and in favor of the Cuban immigrants.

A different issue arises from the use of the prestige scale to compare males and females. The NORC prestige scale was developed for male incumbents of occupations. Nevertheless, it is argued that males and females evaluate the occupations similarly; that their evaluations do not change if they are

evaluating female incumbents; and that the evaluations are similar whether objective or subjective criteria are used (Treiman and Terrell, 1975: 176). Even if there are differences, according to some scholars, a male scale is preferable as a standard against which to measure the progress of women (Tyree and Treas, 1974). Treiman and Terrell (1975) conclude that the prestige hierarchy is invariant for males and females and preferable for an inter-sex comparison (see also McClendon, 1976; Featherman and Hauser, 1976: 465).

Other findings in the literature are more problematic. For example, it has been argued that males and females have roughly equivalent prestige (Treiman and Terrell, 1975) or status (DeJong et al., 1971; Featherman and Hauser, 1976); some studies show women with slightly higher status (McClendon, 1976). It is also argued that the processes of occupational attainment are similar (Treiman and Terrell, 1975). Contrary findings have shown that with scales other than SEI, the sexes have dissimilar status scores (Cooney et al., 1982; Mutchler and Poston, n.d.). Several refinements of earlier studies also demonstrate that women's processes of attainment differ from those of men (Tyree and Treas, 1974; Sewell et al., 1980).

Even if these empirical issues were clearly resolved, it is not at all clear that the findings would apply to Hispanics in general or to Hispanic immigrants in particular. Using Temme's (1975) prestige scores, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1978: 36) found that in 1960 and 1970, the ratio of male to female status scores among Mexican-American was lower than the ratio for majority white and females; that is, males tended to have lower prestige scores than women, especially in comparison to majority whites. In 1960, the Mexican-American ratio was 0.91; in 1970, it rose approximately to parity. This effect is even more marked in Jaffe et al.'s (1980) analysis of status scores for 1970 Census data; for the Mexican-origin population, they found a male/female

ratio of 0.88, compared to 0.94 for the white population. By contrast, the male/female ratio of prestige scores for Mexican immigrants in 1970 was 1.07. What little analysis has been done of Cuban-Americans suggests a larger male-female difference; for status scores in 1970, Jaffe et al. (1980) found a male/female ratio of 1.02. For the 1970 prestige scores reported here, the ratio is 1.12. It appears that sex-specific prestige scores for Mexican-Americans and Cuban-Americans as ethnic groups disguise some of the sex differences that appear for immigrants.

Independent Variables

The immigrant's education is measured both by years of school completed and by two dummy variables for high school graduation and college graduation, with the implicit reference group being no high school graduation. The dummy variables measure the extent to which educational certification affects occupational attainment, and they were inferred from length of schooling. That is, respondents who had completed sufficient years of schooling to be high school graduates were assumed to have graduated.

Previous studies of occupational attainment have stressed the role of occupational inheritance (DeJong et al., 1971; Treiman and Terrell, 1975). In addition, the social class origins of Cuban immigrants have often been cited as the reason for their relative success. Census data do not report the occupational standings of parents (except in the relatively rare case of extended households in which the parents are also immigrants and are also working). However, although social class cannot be measured directly, the selection of the population and the use of education tends to do this indirectly.

The immigrants in this study were at least 25 at the time of immigration. Although one may seek further schooling after that age, it is relatively uncommon to do so. Thus, it seems likely that the completed schooling of the

respondents was also completed schooling in their country of origin.² In pre-revolutionary Cuban and in Mexico, social class of origin heavily influenced access to schooling. A comparison of the Cuban immigrants who immigrated after 1960 with Cuban immigrants who immigrated earlier, and with the Cuban census of 1953, indicates that the post-1960 Cuban immigrants were differentially of middle and upper class origin (results not shown). Unlike the case in the United States, where there is relatively greater opportunity to complete a number of years of schooling, access to higher education in many countries remains a correlate of parents' status.

Age is coded in single years, and length of U.S. experience is measured as [1970-year of immigration]. Because year of immigration was pre-coded into five-year intervals, the midpoint of the interval was used. Chiswick (1978) has argued that length of U.S. work experience is an important indication of acculturation into the United States labor market. However, especially for women, U.S. experience is not synonymous with U.S. work experience. "South" is a dichotomous variable distinguishing the "Census South" from all other states. Besides its historical association with lower earnings, the South is also the home of large concentrations of Hispanic immigrants. Roughly 52% of the Cuban immigrants in 1970 lived in southern states, and of them, over 89% lived in Florida. Among Mexican immigrants, 28% live in the South, virtually all of them in Texas. Thus, the "South" variable is the effect of living in Florida for Cubans and of living in Texas for Mexicans. Weeks worked in 1969 is a rough control on seasonality of employment, which may affect some immigrants, particularly those in agriculture and related industries that hire many women (e.g., canneries).

Finally, citizenship is included as a predictor variable. Legally, employers are able to discriminate on the basis of citizenship so long as they

do not discriminate on the basis of national origin. If such discrimination is widespread then it might well affect the occupational attainment of immigrants. Moreover, immigrant women have tended to have lower rates of naturalization than immigrant men, so that it might affect their prestige differentially. Finally, this variable is of potential interest in understanding the effect of increased discrimination on the basis of alienage -- a possible outcome of pending legislation that would sanction employers of illegal aliens (U.S. Congress, 1983).

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for the dependent and predictor variables. Results are reported separately for Cuban and Mexican females as well as for the comparison groups, Cuban and Mexican males. Table 1 confirms the general view that Cubans have brought with them higher educational attainments than Mexicans; for females and males alike, the mean schooling of Cubans is nearly twice that of Mexicans. In addition, Cuban females and males are more likely than Mexicans to be high school and college graduates and to have had vocational education. These factors would be likely to increase Cuban occupational prestige scores. On the other hand Cubans of both sexes are more likely to reside in the South and the have, on average, two years' less U.S. experience than Mexicans. However, Table 1 does not provide a ready explanation of the male-female differences within each national group. Males appear to differ from females principally in terms of more weeks in 1969--about 5 more weeks on average in the case of Cubans, and 8.5 weeks in the case of Mexicans.

Table 1 About Here

Tables 2 and 3 present the regression results. Except for high school graduation, every variable achieves significance in at least one of the four equations. Years of school completed, college graduation, and vocational education are significant in all four equations.

For the two populations of females, the explained variance and the directions of coefficients are similar, but there are differences in the magnitude and significance of coefficients. U.S. citizenship and Southern residence are significant for Cubans, but not for Mexicans. The difference in slopes for citizenship is particularly striking. Vocational training is significant for both groups, but reaches higher level of significance for Cuban women. Weeks worked is significant only for Mexican women, and college graduation is more significant for Mexican women than for Cuban women.

Table 2 About Here

Compared with the two female groups, the male regression coefficients show variations in both direction and significance. For both Cuban and Mexican males, the effect of U.S. experience and Southern residence is positive; the effect for the women was negative. However, only for Mexican males are these variables significant. For the males, but not for the females, the effect of age is significant. As was the case with the females, weeks worked is significant for Mexican males but not for Cuban males, and citizenship is significant for Cuban males but not for Mexican males. For Cuban males only, the effects of weeks worked and high school graduation are weakly negative. The explained variance for the two male equations is somewhat higher than that for the female equations, but the magnitude of explained variance for all four equations is comparable to that in the existing literature on occupational

prestige (see, for example, Treiman and Terrell, 1975: 183; McClendon, 1976: 58).

Table 3 About Here

Given these variations in composition and coefficients, it is helpful to decompose the differences between Cuban and Mexican females; this is done in column 1 of Table 4. The higher prestige of Cuban women, relative to Mexican women, is explained by the difference in intercepts, and by the difference in personal characteristics, which are equally large and positive. However, the rate of return to these characteristics favors the Mexican women. The interaction term is also negative, indicating that there are some variables on which Cuban women's favorable composition is offset by less favorable returns; an example of such a variable is college graduation. The negative interaction term also comes about because Cuban women have less favorable composition on variables for which they have more favorable rates of return; U.S. citizenship is one such variable.

Table 4 About Here

The remaining two columns of Table 4 show the much smaller differences between the sexes holding nationality constant. For both Cubans and Mexicans, the superior position of males is attributable both to more favorable composition and to generally higher rates of return to those characteristics, with the negative interaction terms reducing the additive effect of those components. In every comparison, the intercept represents a large portion of the gap in prestige scores.

Table 5 compares the differences in predicted and standardized occupational scores as a means of further analysis. Controlling for education--with its

implicit control for social class--has the effect of narrowing the gap between Cuban and Mexican women. Cuban and Mexican college-educated women differ very little in predicted prestige scores. However, the differences between men and women in each group decrease slightly for high school graduates, and increase dramatically for college graduates. Moreover, the predicted prestige for Mexican male college graduates is greater than that for Cuban male college graduates. By contrast, Jaffe et al. (1980) report higher status scores for college-educated non-Spanish white women and for Mexican origin women, compared to men, but they also show the reversal for college-educated Mexican and Cuban men.

Table 5 About Here

The last panel of Table 5 dramatically underscores the differences between Cuban and Mexican women. Standardizing their own composition with the slopes for any of the four groups increases the Cuban-Mexican female difference (column 8). For example, use of the Cuban male slopes raises the predicted score for Cuban females by 14 points, but it diminishes the scores of Mexican females by $3\frac{3}{4}$ points. Mexican slopes for either sex increase the scores for Cubans of either sex. But Cuban slopes diminish the scores for Mexican women, and increase the scores for Mexican males only slightly. On the other hand, the Mexican male slopes maximize the scores for the other three groups.

The empirical results indicate somewhat different processes of converting "resources" into prestige. The processes differ by both sex and nationality, with the Mexican males and females being more similar to each other than to Cubans, and with the Cubans being more similar to each other than to the Mexicans. Mexicans, both male and female, have a more favorable "conversion" of resources into prestige, but a lower level of resources to convert.

Nationality Difference Discussion

Cuban females (and males) have a particular advantage in converting citizenship into occupational prestige. It might be thought that citizenship, which could be accelerated by Cuban refugees, is a proxy for the other programs of the Cuban Refugee Program, such as language training and continuing education (see Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey, 1979). However, the differential remained large even when the results were replicated for Cuban and Mexican women immigrating between 1945 and 1959 (results not shown). For Cuban women, naturalization is associated with structural assimilation to a much greater degree than for Mexican women.

Mexican females (and males) have an advantage in converting high school and college completion--but not years of schooling--into occupational prestige. This result also holds true in the subsamples who immigrated between 1945 and 1959 (results not shown). Thus, this "brain drain" effect for Mexicans does not occur merely because they are economic immigrants, although it is true that economic immigrants normally have greater leisure to search for good job prospects before emigrating. An easy explanation for the nationality difference does not seem to be at hand. The refugee status of many Cuban women and the economic immigrant status of the Mexican women do not appear to be the major determinants.

Compared to males, these immigrant females have lower occupational prestige, and the gap is greatly increased for well-educated females. This is a reversal of a frequently noted pattern for U.S. males and females to have similar levels of occupational prestige. Unlike the case for male immigrants, experience in the U.S. tends to decrease the prestige scores for females; so does Southern residence. It appears that the pattern of achieving occupational

prestige for immigrant women is unique, even when the nationality effects are resolved.

A structural reason for this discrepancy may be sought in the principal occupations that confer prestige on American women. It is well known that women are segregated into a few occupations. The more prestigious of these occupations tend to require an excellent command of English (secretaries, librarians) and often occupational licensing as well (school teachers, nurses). With relatively few occupations open to women, immigrant women workers may be less likely to learn useful information about job markets. Thus, unlike the case for males, their U.S. experience does not lead to improving their job position. The existing jobs for women tend to require the women to acquire most of their training at their own expense as verified by a credential (Oppenheimer, 1970). Immigrant women who have educational credentials do much better than those who do not; even so, foreign credentials are difficult to "translate" into credentials acceptable for American jobs. Finally, relative concentration in the South may affect women's prestige more than men. Although no recent work bears directly on the subject, a recent study of status score differentials shows greater discrepancies between women and men in such Southern SMSA's as Miami and San Antonio (Poston and Inman, 1980). It may be that Southern cities restrict the opportunities for immigrant women more than Northern cities.

It is also possible that immigrant women are more likely to view themselves in "supplementary earners" or are more apprehensive about job changes because of unfamiliarity with American language and customs. Family responsibilities may require even the most ambitious women to keep routine jobs that receive little prestige. Issues of motivation and aspiration, undetectable in census data, are an appropriate line for further research.

Conclusion

Current and proposed immigration legislation in the United States encourages the continued entry of women immigrants. Aside from concerns about their fertility (Massey, 1982), immigrant women have been of little interest. (One exception is Chiswick's (1980) study of women's earnings.) Socialized into different cultures with varying norms for gender roles, they find themselves in a new culture and society that is rethinking the issues of women's work. This study has shown that immigrant women do not fare as well as immigrant men in converting their resources into occupational prestige, although nationality differences are larger than gender differences. Much of the difference - especially the nationality difference - can be attributed to women's lower levels of resources. Patterns of converting those resources into prestige vary by nationality and gender.

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¹Other prestige scales have also appeared in the literature. For example, in its presentation of prestige scores for Mexican-Americans, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978: 36) uses a prestige scale developed by Terme (1975). In their comparison of male and female occupational attainment, Treiman and Terrell (1975) used the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale, which is described in detail in Treiman (1977). However, Treiman himself notes (1977: 209): "If one wishes prestige scores developed specifically for the United States, Hodge-Siegel-Rossi scores are the obvious instrument of choice. . . ." The prestige scales are highly correlated with one another.

²However, especially in the Cuban Refugee Program, efforts were made to offer training in the U.S. (Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey, 1980). It is uncertain how successful these programs were. Portes (1982:102) finds the net effect of U.S. acquired education to be insignificant in his sample of male Cuban exiles. Education in Cuba was significant. It is possible that the relationship would be different for women.

Table 1.

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES FOR CUBAN
AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE 25 YEARS OF AGE OR
OLDER AT IMMIGRATION, BY SEX, 1970
(omits cases with allocated nationality)

	Cubans		Mexicans	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
<u>Female Immigrants:</u>				
Occupational prestige ^a	31.6	11.8	25.0	9.3
Age	44.4	9.6	43.8	10.6
Length of U.S. experience	6.1	4.4	8.6	6.8
South (1=yes)	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.4
Vocational training (1=yes)	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3
Naturalized citizen (1=yes)	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4
Weeks worked, 1969	40.5	14.5	35.7	16.8
Years of school completed	10.1	4.1	5.6	4.2
High school graduation (1=yes) ^b	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3
College graduation (1=yes) ^b	0.1	0.3	0.02	0.2
N	685		370	
<u>Male Immigrants:</u>				
Occupational prestige ^a	35.5	14.6	26.8	11.4
Age	46.0	10.0	43.4	11.6
Length of U.S. experience	6.0	4.5	8.8	7.1
South (1=yes)	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.4
Vocational training (1=yes)	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3
Naturalized citizen (1=yes)	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4
Weeks worked, 1969	45.8	11.0	44.2	11.3
Years of school completed	10.2	4.3	5.5	4.2
High school graduation (1=yes) ^b	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3
College graduation (1=yes) ^b	0.2	0.4	0.02	0.2
N	905		870	

Source: U.S. Census of Population:1970. Public Use Samples (1/100 State Sample, 5% questionnaire).

Notes: ^a NORC prestige score

^b See text.

Table 2.

PARTIAL (B) REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS, STANDARD ERROR (B), AND STANDARDIZED (BETA) REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS OBTAINED FROM REGRESSIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE ON DETERMINANTS, FOR CUBAN AND MEXICAN FEMALES WHO WERE 25 OR OLDER AT THE TIME OF IMMIGRATION

	CUBAN FEMALES			MEXICAN FEMALES		
	B	S.E. (B)	Beta	B	S.E. (B)	Beta
Age	-.06	.05	-.05	-.03	.06	-.03
Length of U.S. experience	-.19	.11	-.07	-.01	.08	-.01
South	-2.04	.81	-.09*	-1.00	1.04	-.04
Vocational training	4.49	.96	.17**	3.94	1.54	.13*
U.S. Citizenship	4.23	1.04	.15**	.23	.95	.01
Weeks worked, 1969	.03	.03	.03	.08	.03	.15**
Years of school completed	.63	.24	.22**	.52	.16	.23**
High school graduation	.24	1.62	.01	1.51	1.90	.05
College graduation	6.30	2.65	.18*	10.65	3.45	.18**

a = 26.30
 R^2 = .223
s.e. = 10.40
N = 685

a = 19.73
 R^2 = .223
s.e. = 8.22
N = 370

* = Significant at the .05 level.
** = Significant at the .01 level or higher.

Table 3.

PARTIAL (B) REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS, STANDARD ERROR (B), AND STANDARDIZED (BETA) REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS OBTAINED FROM REGRESSIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE ON DETERMINANTS, FOR CUBAN AND MEXICAN MALES WHO WERE 25 OR OLDER AT THE TIME OF IMMIGRATION

	CUBAN MALES			MEXICAN MALES		
	B	S.E. (B)	Beta	B	S.E. (B)	Beta
Age	-.13	.04	-.09**	-.08	.04	-.08*
Length of U.S. experience	.14	.11	.04	.15	.06	.09*
South	1.25	.84	.04	3.17	.77	.12**
Vocational training	2.06	.97	.06*	5.07	.11	.13**
U.S. Citizenship	3.18	1.06	.09**	.62	.72	.02
Weeks worked, 1969	-.01	.04	-.01	.07	.03	.07*
Years of school completed	.85	.23	.25**	.55	.12	.20**
High school graduation	-2.03	1.61	-.06	.95	1.41	.03
College graduation	11.31	2.61	.28**	27.36	2.59	.37**
a = 29.75			a = 20.97			
R ² = .280			R ² = .350			
s.e. = 12.45			s.e. = 9.25			
N = 905			N = 870			

* = Significant at the .05 level.

** = Significant at the .01 level or higher.

Table 4.

COMPONENTS OF PRESTIGE DIFFERENTIALS FOR
CUBAN AND MEXICAN FEMALE IMMIGRANTS

	Cuban females- Mexican females (1)	Cuban males Cuban females (2)	Mexican males Mexican females (3)
Prestige Score Gap	7.0	3.9	1.8
Components:			
a. Difference in intercepts	6.0	3.4	1.0
b. Difference in personal characteristics	6.0	0.5	0.6
c. Difference in rate of return to characteristics	-4.0	0.2	0.2
d. Interaction term	-1.0	-0.2	-0.0

SOURCE: data from Tables 1, 2, and 3.

Table 5.

PREDICTED AND STANDARDIZED OCCUPATIONAL
PRESTIGE SCORES, CUBAN AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS BY SEX

	Cubans			Mexicans			Cuban-Mexican Difference	
	Male (1)	Female (2)	Difference (1)-(2)= (3)	Male (4)	Female (5)	Difference (4)-(5)= (6)	Male (1)-(4)= (7)	Female (2)-(3)= (8)
Mean Score unadjusted	35.53	31.59	3.94	26.84	25.01	1.83	8.69	6.58
Predicted Scores								
LT HS	34.80	31.07	3.73	26.32	24.41	1.91	8.48	6.66
HS	34.88	32.83	2.05	31.16	29.51	1.65	3.72	3.32
College	51.98	41.57	19.15	55.90	40.92	14.98	-3.92	0.65
Standardized scores, using slopes for								
Cuban males	35.53	33.01	2.52	27.99	21.25	6.74	7.54	11.76
Cuban females	41.18	31.59	9.59	28.62	21.47	7.37	12.56	10.12
Mexican males	48.27	39.04	9.23	26.84	25.59	1.25	21.43	13.45
Mexican females	47.23	35.28	11.95	32.44	25.01	7.43	14.79	10.27

SOURCE: data from Tables 1, 2, and 3, and Tables 4.26 and 4.27 in Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey (1980).

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